21: Fisher 5-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

On occasion when supplies are plentiful the Badawin
284 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
146 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is
147 low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *ghazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of trying to get what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids
[Ibn Saud] is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly
721 large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but
651 frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khaoua* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[1] There are only three sources of amusement or distraction in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

I. Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins M34

Horrors of Summer

THE ANNUAL MOVES

872 361 285 182 221 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concentrates on its wells (*gulleh*), which in each case are groups of wells lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here they camp (*igaiyarkaw*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *mesabbiah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the time when the *fakat* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sarfya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

735 651

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 182 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

k Bishara G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Restitution of Stolen Camels

(a) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Rials, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

Chap. XXXIII
425
619

BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Am* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*wasáqnáhum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Am*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

[615] Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Am* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

651 The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1174

it works out to about 1/40th of what a man possesses. To the Badawin, 651
ẓakát means the unpleasant annual contribution which his King, or head of the state, has a right to take from him, and is calculated as follows:

(*a*) One *Rial* for every full-grown camel.
(*b*) Half a *Rial* for every young or half-grown camel.
(*c*) One sheep or its value (8 *Riáls*) for every forty sheep, whether small or large.

No *ẓakát* is paid on riding camels, or on camels used for carrying 651
Badawin camp equipage from camp to camp. The head of the state 641
has also the right in the event of war to call upon all those who have 617
paid him *ẓakát* to fight for him, failing which he can confiscate all their live stock.

Should a tribe fail to pay *ẓakát* to its lawful Ruler the latter is entitled:

(*a*) To confiscate its property.
(*b*) To refuse to be responsible for its defence or protection from others of his tribes.
(*c*) To refuse to come to its assistance should it be attacked by outside enemies.

Conversely if a tribe pays the *ẓakát* tax due from it, then the Ruler 651
or head of the state is bound to defend that tribe (actively as well as 641
by diplomatic means) from all comers, and whether aggression comes from inside or outside. He is responsible for all the members of the tribe as though they were his own children, or so at least says the desert law.

The head of a state has no right to take *ẓakát* from a foreign tribe which visits his state for grazing purposes and intends only to stay a short time, and will return home and pay *ẓakát* to its rightful Ruler. This is an old and well-established law in Arabia, and is understood by all.

Should the visiting tribe, however, ask for and obtain permission to settle for the summer on wells in the local Ruler's state, then the latter has the right, by unwritten law, to take full *ẓakát* from it. The idea underlying this custom is that the foreign tribe eats up his grazing and drinks his water to the detriment of his own tribe (The great

L. Dickson G-8 (1939-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

651 Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has
641 endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Mishal al Timini (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1933 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a row with
651 his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *zakát* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *zakát*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *zakát* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *zakát* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *zakát*.

KHÁWAH

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

651 *Kháwah* is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter
486 territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

L Dickson G-6 (1933-47) 1952 MI 1 Kuwait VII
Bedouins 1934
Muntafiq

entering Hasa country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khāwah* to the Shaikh of the Hasa. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly some *dibas* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Ibn Sa'ud, the taking of *khāwah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Ibn Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Ibn Sa'ud have paid *khāwah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khāwah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *mandūbah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khāwah* entitles the payer to protection.

DHARĪBAH AND MANĪHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE")

(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes)

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the Gharaf gladly agreed, and the term *Dhalīhah wa Manīhah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhalīhah wa manīhah* is well understood in North-East Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of

L Dickson G-6 (1939-47) [illegible] 662 I Kuwait MI1
Nov 1946

grazing. It sends men ahead and offers (*a*) *ta'ithah* and (*b*) *dhabihah wa munihah*.

The former assures that the Shaikh of Kuwait will, if necessary, fight all comers in their defence; the latter is a promise that if Kuwait is attacked by outsiders, the shepherd tribes in his territory will faithfully serve and fight for him, whilst they are grazing in Kuwait territory. The payment of *dhabihah wa munihah* is a graceful way of saying "I am your servant to order, so long as I am in your country". Half a dozen young sheep is the usual amount offered. As often as not the gift is accepted and remitted by the big man—*Qabaltu wa rajja'tu*, or, I have accepted your gift and hereby return it again to you. The present Shaikh of Kuwait has for some years ceased to demand either tax.

PROPERTY LOST IN THE DESERT

Alois Musil, in his book, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, gives a striking and accurate picture of what happens in the desert when a nomad loses part of his tent equipage, a camel or a mare when on the march. I cannot do better than recommend my readers to study what he has to say about it.

Under the desert code it is not, of course, considered a dishonest act to pick up and conceal an article which has been lost or dropped by another person. The finder is not required to go out of his way to seek the owner of the article; on the contrary, it is up to the owner to find his own lost property. This applies to all articles of camp gear, male and female attire, bags of food, strayed camels, horses, sheep, etc.

Should the finder really fear God (*khaf Allah*) he will probably tell his shaikh, or let it be known generally whilst he is on the march that he has found such and such an article, obviously dropped by someone, but he need not necessarily do so. Only when the owner publicly notifies his loss is the finder required to act. He must then and there hand back the goods if he is to escape the charge of being a thief. If the lost or strayed thing be a camel, mare or sheep, he will get a small reward in return. This is his *haq* or right.

When Badawin are on the march with their families, and especially

A Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1938 MS 1 Kuwait
In dossier 1936
Muntafiq

434 962 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

361 233 Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos, each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[122] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 233 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 648 431 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhalikah wa marikah*, consisting of gifts of young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakāt* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakāt*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1938) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
643 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
187 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
547 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

224 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more intimate with the desert than the real Beduins, are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels, used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

000 or carriers.
563 The Sherarat are thus halfway between the Beduins and the Sulubba. Needless to say no Beduin will intermarry with them.

Awazim

101 Although scattered widely these people form
563 a large tribe. The principal group of the Awazim (sing. Aazimi) is south of Kuwait, in the northern half of Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf coast. There are others in Nejd and in Trans-Jordan with the Beni Sakhr. In manner and livelihood and other customs, they are similar to the Beduins, and live by breeding camels and sheep. No Beduin will intermarry with them owing to the tradition that they are not of pure descent.

Huteim

This is a large tribe which lives the usual Beduin pastoral life, in the area northeast of
[651] Medina, between that city and Hail. I have heard that some generations ago, the Huteim did not fight but paid tribute to all the Beduins. Of recent years, however, they fight much like any Beduin tribe. No Beduin will marry them, however, as they are known to be of base descent.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouins MJ4

He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazāzah near Kerbela, at Baghdādīyah above Hīt, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Nūri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindīyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazāzah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other land-owners.

A more striking personality is Hākim (Hāchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hākim ibn Qeishīsh rules over the **Fed'ān**, some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Nūri esh-Sha'lān in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The **Sibā'** are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Nūri may be given about £20 a month, paid to his agent in Damascus, who uses the money for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions.

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lān, Ibn Hadhdhāl, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibā' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be